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Hamburg, 25 April 1982
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Bonn, Washington agree on troop plan for a crisis

There may be talk of growing anti-Americanism in West Germany both in Germany and, more so, in the United States, but Bonn and Washington have in fact reinforced their alliance ties.

Bonn Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher and US ambassador Arthur Burns have signed an agreement on German support facilities for US troop reinforcements airlifted across the Atlantic in the event of an emergency.

Reference is invariably made in official speeches of joint security and alliance policy. The agreement signed in Bonn has reaffirmed this policy in practice.

Reagan to go to Berlin

President Reagan, who will be in Bonn in June for the Nato summit, is definitely going to visit Berlin too, the Bonn Foreign Office has confirmed.

Foreign Minister Genscher is reported to have gone into details of the Berlin visit with Michael Deaver, deputy chief of staff at the White House, in Bonn.

Herr Genscher stressed the importance of Mr Reagan's visit for German-American friendship, for ties between Berlin and the Federal Republic of Germany and for the success of the Nato summit.

In March the Soviet Union denied that Herr Genscher had any right to invite President Reagan to visit Berlin.

Mr Deaver referred to the city's special status and said the democratic public of Berlin were not interested in seeing the US President.

rr
(Die Welt, 19 April 1982)

It would be much too one-sided to term the agreement pro-American. It is truer to say that it is in the German national interest, and even more so in that of joint security.

It enhances the deterrent power of Nato and thereby reduces the risk of war. It also contributes toward reducing the risk of America one day withdrawing its troops from Europe and leaving it and the Federal Republic of Germany to their own devices.

Tendencies to favour a troop withdrawal from Europe have regrettably increased in the United States, but the Reagan administration will hear nothing of the idea, and the new agreement speaks louder than words.

Nato, of which the Federal Republic of Germany is a member, suffers from a natural handicap. Unlike the Warsaw Pact, it does not have the overwhelming majority of its armed forces stationed in Europe.

Even Soviet medium-range missiles deployed beyond the Urals, in Asia, are capable of scoring direct nuclear hits on German cities. But Nato's most powerful arm is thousands of miles away in the United States.

Maintaining a US presence on a par with the East Bloc's in Europe would be an inordinate burden on Central Europe, which is heavily populated in any case. It would be an inordinate financial burden on the United States.

Armed forces are only intended to be

Continued on page 2



American Ambassador Arthur Burns (left) and German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher sign in Bonn the agreement dealing with troop arrangements in the event of crisis.
(Photo: dpa)

Pact demonstrates will to extend defence cooperation

At a time when 'doubts' about Nato have risen on both sides of the Atlantic and the very feasibility of defence has been called into question Bonn and Washington have given a signal.

The agreement on support facilities for US forces airlifted to Germany in an emergency, signed in Bonn by Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher and US ambassador Arthur F. Burns, is an impressive token of determination to strengthen Nato's defence capacity.

It also signifies a continued determination to pursue a joint security policy, with special emphasis on close ties between Bonn and its foremost ally.

Defence cooperation between Bonn and Washington works and is to be extended, as the new agreement shows. It results from the old realisation that neither Western Europe nor North America alone can ensure deterrence and defence.

Herr Genscher rightly noted that US forces in Western Europe were a guarantee of joint Nato security for which there was no substitute.

Western security cannot be guaranteed by Soviet undertakings or pledges. The only guarantee is an appropriate Nato defence capacity.

This is a fact views to the contrary, no matter how vociferously they may be proclaimed by a noisy but small minority, cannot change.

Nothing but defence capacity and defence determination within a realistic policy framework will keep the peace in Europe, and this is a point the new agreement emphasises.

It is why it is so important, both in military and in political terms.

By the time of the agreement the United States will, in a few years' time, with German support be able to reinforce its four divisions permanently stationed in Germany.

In 10 days America will be able to airlift another six divisions. This is surely a signal which will be unable to overlook.

These programmes will entail investment totalling DM1.2bn, to be shared equally by Bonn and Washington, and it is sound investment.

It will improve the life insurance cover Nato has reliably provided ever since it was set up in 1949.

(General-Anzeiger Bonn, 16 April 1982)

President Reagan said he would like to meet Mr Brezhnev in New York during the UN arms control conference at the end of June.

Moscow initially ignored the suggestion.

Mr Brezhnev has finally responded to President Reagan's 'ballon d'essai' in a radio interview. In principle, he says, he would be willing to confer with Mr Reagan sometime this year.

But Herr Genscher learnt on his visit to Moscow last year that Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko, evidently ploughing

Kremlin gives belated reply

his own furrow, had not told Mr Brezhnev that President Reagan would like to meet him.

In view of this incredible state of affairs Mr Reagan eventually had to write a personal letter to the Soviet leader. So his offer of talks cannot have taken the Kremlin entirely by surprise.

Besides, there have been intensive ties between Washington and Moscow ever since President Reagan assumed office. A summit meeting would finally end the alleged speechlessness of the superpowers.

It is regrettable that Mr Brezhnev would sooner meet Mr Reagan in autumn than in June, but it must not be taken as a rejection.

Instead, the assumption is, Mr Brezhnev is unable to make it to New York either because of ill-health or because of Kremlin intrigues.

That would be to absolve the Soviet Union of responsibility for a constructive dialogue at summit level.

In the past the Russians have repeatedly said they would be only happy to hold talks, although mainly, one must imagine, for propaganda reasons.

If the Americans take care not to give up too soon, Moscow will this time no longer be able to evade responsibility.

Trenchant Soviet criticism of the latest troop support agreement between Bonn and Washington, an agreement that is merely in response to the conventional Soviet arms build-up, is no reason for calling the summit plan into question.

In anything, a US-Soviet summit is even more important at a moment of crisis management to ensure survival.

(Kremlin, 19 April 1982)

IN THIS ISSUE	
DEMONSTRATIONS	Page 4
Admission to the	
test movement	
Page 5	
Page 6	
Page 7	

Relations between Bonn and Buenos Aires have been frank and cordial over the years, although not uninfluenced by changes of regime in Argentina. Ties will have differed little from those between other Western countries and the Argentine.

So the Buenos Aires junta must have been unpleasantly surprised to see most Western European countries backing Britain rather than opting for neutrality over the Falklands.

There are several reasons why Argentina miscalculated the West's response. First, we cannot, in an increasingly strife-torn world, allow territorial claims, no matter how justified they may be, to be settled by force.

Were General Galtieri's methods to be used in Africa, where borders were drawn arbitrarily and territorial claims are the rule, not the exception, the entire continent would be a battlefield in no time.

Second, Britain is defending in the Falklands not its old colonial empire and not even an essential trade or military base but the right to self-determination of a small population of British nationals who have yet to show the slightest interest in joining Argentina.

Why should they, given Argentina's galloping inflation? Besides, the islanders would forfeit freedom, human dignity and constitutional guarantees if they were handed over to Buenos Aires.

In the past Britain has been able to divest itself of its colonial possessions by granting them independence, and Whitehall would have been happy to grant the Falklands independence too.

But that would have been of little use to the Falkland islanders given Argentina's territorial claims. Independence would have been short-lived.

Germany's own track record has made Germans sensitive when it comes to breaches of international law and disregard for rights of self-determination.

So Argentina could hardly expect Bonn to maintain strict neutrality and impartiality. Bonn was bound to show loyalty toward a close ally.

Britain, as the UN Security Council has agreed, has been done serious wrong, and it can expect Germany to lend it at least moral support in defending fundamental principles of international law.

Not long ago, after all, Bonn had to rely on its allies taking a firm stand when, for instance, Walter Ulbricht ominously announced that West Berlin lay on GDR territory.

No-one can be unduly enthusiastic

Continued from page 1

airlifted across the Atlantic from America to Europe in the event of an emergency.

An airlift is a risky operation and depends for success on the host country. In this case the Federal Republic of Germany, making suitable preparations.

This is the purpose of the new agreement, by the terms of which Bonn undertakes to provide support staff and facilities for US forces airlifted over in the event of a crisis.

Manpower is to consist of 93,000 reservists specially trained for this support role, while Bonn is to invest DM550m in facilities between now and 1987.

In return the Federal Republic's security gain is more substantial than anything it could hope to accomplish by itself.

Werner Neumann

(Lübecker Nachrichten, 16 April 1982)

WORLD AFFAIRS

Argentina miscalculation on backing for invasion

about traditionally good relations with a major South American country being strained by the Falklands crisis, but Bonn is hardly to blame.

Argentina has so far maintained in the face of condemnation by virtually undivided world opinion its right to take the islands by force.

Neither persuasion nor US offers to mediate have succeeded in making Buenos Aires either withdraw its troops from the islands or declare sovereignty over them to be negotiable.

Britain, on the other hand, seemed at the time of writing to be prepared to accept for the sake of peace a condominium. Whitehall was willing to share sovereignty with Argentina and the United States.

Brazil and Bonn were confronted during President Carstens' visit to Brazil with an issue to which neither would have given a moment's thought a week earlier.

The Argentinian occupation of the Falkland Islands and the despatch of a British naval force to defend them alarmed both Brazil and the Federal Republic of Germany.

Brazil is Argentina's next-door neighbour in South America; Bonn is a NATO ally of Britain's. Foreign Minister Genscher, who accompanied President Carstens, was even entrusted with a delicate mission.

Herr Genscher was requested by Lord Carrington, who had just resigned as British Foreign Secretary, to leave his Brazilian hosts in no doubt as to Britain's views and those of its fellow-members of the EEC.

This bid to persuade Brazil, as well as the UN Security Council, to call for an Argentinian withdrawal from the islands gave a special note to the talks.

In Brazil President Carstens and Foreign Minister Genscher conferred with their opposite numbers President Figueiredo and Foreign Minister Saravira Guerreiro.

Brazil was also to be told, at Britain's request, not to doubt British determination to regain sovereignty over the Falklands.

It was a delicate mission to convey this message to a government that has established increasingly close ties with Argentina in recent years, including ties with the Argentinian navy that occupied the islands.

Besides, Brazil has endorsed since the 19th century Argentina's claim to the Malvinas, as the islands are known in both countries.

Brazil, the president of the Brazilian Senate, Senhor Jarbas Passarinho, told journalists in Brasilia, sympathised with decolonisation of all kinds.

By the same token Brazil is opposed to South Africa on Namibia, but in addition to this viewpoint, a matter of principle, Foreign Minister Figueiredo criticised Argentina's occupation of the Falklands.

He did not approve of Buenos Aires taking the islands by force. The use of force was not in keeping with Brazil's policy of peace.

General Figueiredo reiterated his respect for Bonn's principles of detente

The Argentinian junta staged the clash for domestic reasons, and for the same reasons it seems to be finding it hard to end the conflict with a sensible compromise.

The generals have banked on Britain calling it a day once it costed defence operations, but they seem to have made the same miscalculation as Hitler did in his day.

Britain does not view violations of legal principles in terms of pounds, shillings and pence; there comes a time when it feels morally obliged to stand up and fight to defend them.

Argentina has not closed the door to negotiations. The signs from Buenos Aires are ambiguous but they do not rule out hopes of a climb-down on the cru-

Genscher fulfils delicate Brazil mission

and renunciation of the use of force to deal with political problems.

Professor Carstens and Herr Genscher were fulsome in their praise of Brazil's policy of peace and moderation.

This doubtless contributed toward their agreement to undertake steps designed to prevent further deterioration of the situation, if not to try and mediate in the Falklands conflict.

Views still differed, however. Herr Genscher instructed the German embassy in Buenos Aires to inform the Argentine government that in Bonn's view it must comply with the UN Security Council resolution and withdraw its forces from the islands.

He told Brazilian journalists that Bonn would not only be imposing an embargo on exports of arms and military equipment to Argentina; it would also have to review the terms of nuclear power station contracts with Argentina.

This suddenly focussed attention on the three-cornered relationship between Bonn, Brasilia and Buenos Aires in connection with nuclear power.

Bonn exports nuclear technology to both Argentina and Brazil. They in turn have reciprocal arrangements for the exchange of nuclear fuel and reactor parts.

Suspensions have never been fully dispelled that Argentina as a country with advanced nuclear technology might be determined to develop a military nuclear capacity.

Once Argentina has its own nuclear weapons to underscore its claims to power, the argument runs, Brazil will have no choice but to follow suit.

Given the aggressive attitude adopted by the Argentinian armed forces, this possibility seems a much more distinct likelihood.

Unlike Bonn, Brasilia has not called on Argentina to withdraw its forces from the Falklands immediately. Brazil is reluctant to go out on a limb in ties with neighbouring Argentina.

Gigantic Brazil is keen to maintain its traditional policy of restraint so as not

cial issue, that of a military withdrawal from the islands as a first step in the direction of negotiations.

If Argentina were to evacuate its troops it would be a remarkable success for and confirmation of Britain's unbending attitude.

The British outlook was aptly put by Foreign Secretary Francis Pym when he told the Commons that the government was no longer prepared to pursue a policy of appeasement toward dictators.

Britain enjoys the support of its allies for this stand. It also enjoys the tacit sympathy of most of the world, which would sooner not see its many conflicts settled in the Argentinian way.

This may, in the final analysis, persuade Argentina to climb down. The Falklands crisis has certainly shown that peace needs constantly to be defended by force of arms.

Otherwise dictatorships will use force and have it all their own way, as has happened all too often in the past.

Fritz Ullrich
(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 15 April 1982)

to foster fears that it might be on the brink of intervention itself in South America.

The German party, encouraged by assurances of close friendship and cooperation by President Figueiredo, sought to persuade their hosts that Brazil, given its growing power and responsibility, was destined to play a greater role in world affairs.

The Brazilians are not keen on the idea. Their own social and economic development imposed burdens enough as it is, they say.

Domestically, Brazil is keen on the idea of emerging as a great power next century, but as yet the government does not even feel ready to assume a leading role in the Third World.

Viewed in this light, President Carstens did not sound an altogether happy note in calling on his hosts to take on a leading role in connection with the Falklands crisis.

America now faces an additional burden as a continent, with the Falklands crisis in the south suddenly arising alongside the troubles in Central America.

Brazil has hitherto shown much less commitment than, say, Bonn on crisis-torn El Salvador and surrounding areas.

It has staunchly resisted attempts by Argentina to persuade it to join Buenos Aires and Washington in facing up to the Soviet Union and Cuba in Central America.

Unless the Falklands crisis is swiftly settled enormous complications may well occur, giving rise to entirely new power constellations in Latin America.

Friedrich Kassboer

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 8 April 1982)

The German Tribune

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HOME AFFAIRS

Campaign for Federal election gathers pace despite Constitutional hurdles

Public discussion on national elections that was begun by CDU Secretary-General Heiner Geissler is gathering momentum.

Geissler has for months been pushing an idea that is miles removed from reality. He says only new elections half-way through the legislative period can get the country out of the domestic policy

caused by the rapid disintegration of the Bonn government.

But even though the Social-Liberal coalition is losing one election after another in the Länder and the Bonn government is marking time, Geissler's campaign has earned him nothing but mockery.

Even CDU leader Helmut Kohl has ridiculed him in discussions with friends, saying that he lacked the most basic of knowledge about the Constitution.

The fact is that the German Constitution calls for political acrobatics of the highest order in any bid for premature elections.

The stability-conscious fathers of the Constitution put so many obstacles in the way of premature elections that there has been only one such case in the 15-year history of the Federal Republic of Germany: when the Social-Liberal coalition in Bonn engineered its own defeat in a confidence vote in 1972 and

No quitting, no poll: Schmidt

It is one of the prerogatives of British prime ministers to be able to set the date for new elections.

Though the German Chancellor does not enjoy this prerogative, he talks as if he did.

And since it is at present almost impossible to topple Schmidt and he would not for one moment contemplate resigning, which would be tantamount to political suicide, his forecast that there will be no new elections before the end of the legislative period must be taken seriously.

He wants to nip any doubts as to his determination in the bud - and this applies to both friends and foe.

He wants those who are prepared to defend his position to know that they are not fighting for somebody who might later desert them.

These followers of his are in any event agreed on where the blame for the present condition of the SPD and the coalition lies - a condition which Schmidt has diagnosed with remarkable shrewdness.

The Chancellor's refusal to resign and to clear the way for a new government ("An election could not be won at this time") is coupled with the demand to continue governing according to his convictions and in keeping with the agreements with the coalition partner whom he treats with kid gloves. If necessary, Schmidt will go against majority resolutions at the Munich congress.

In other words: Germany will continue to be governed from Bonn and not from Munich.

(Kölnischer Stadt-Anzeiger, 15 April 1982)

thus prepared the ground for an election with a predictable outcome.

Today's situation being what it is, new elections would only be possible if Helmut Schmidt asked for another vote of confidence, which he is most unlikely to do if there is any chance of failure.

Another possibility would be for the CDU/CSU and the FDP to join forces in toppling the Chancellor through a constructive vote of no confidence and subsequently to deny the new Chancellor their vote in a new confidence vote.

Naturally, both these approaches need an anti-Schmidt majority.

This cumbersome procedure makes it the more surprising that even the coalition is now pondering the issue of new elections.

Thus, for instance, MP Helga Schuchardt (FDP) said in the Hamburg information sheet of her party, *Marschländer Bote*, that, should political conditions make it impossible to continue with the present coalition government, new elections would be the only way out of the dilemma.

The chairman of the Saarland SPD, Oskar Lafontaine, has expressed himself along similar lines.

Geissler, Schuchardt and Lafontaine: Is this a new grand coalition for elections?

The first impression is deceptive. A closer look will show that this unusual troika is motivated by differing interests.

Heiner Geissler's repeated demands for new elections are primarily due to his wish to rub salt into the wounds of the political opponents.

The Social Democrats see the issue of new elections in an entirely different light: the SPD holds the reins of government and there is no need for an unscheduled mandate.

On the contrary; anybody suggesting that they call for new elections while in their present condition would risk being suspected of wanting to get rid of Helmut Schmidt as Chancellor.

But what about Lafontaine and those who think along his lines? Are they deliberately trying to limit the opposition benches? This is not as paradoxical as it might appear. The shift from government to opposition holds no terror for these people. In fact, they regard it as a catharsis.

The left wingers in the FDP camp who favour new elections are somewhat differently motivated.

In the 1980 national election, the FDP campaigned with the slogan "For the Schmidt-Genscher Government". And most FDP voters cast their ballot in favour of such a coalition.

Even assuming that there were compelling reasons to do so, a sudden shift to the conservatives would raise the issue of loyalty; and the Liberals rightly believe that they must fear nothing more than the reputation of being unreliable partners.

New elections would largely solve these problems for the FDP and reduce the "frictional losses" that go with a change of partner.

This is a crucial point for party leader Hans-Dietrich Genscher. He is naturally interested in making his forces cross to the other shore with the least possible losses.

Any major election defeat could threaten the very existence of the FDP.

In 1980, the Liberals benefited from the anti-Strauss attitude of many conservative sympathisers in the electorate. But this factor no longer applies; and, to make matters worse, the FDP is increasingly losing voters to the Greens (environmentalists).

In fact, the FDP party leadership has it in black and white that an overwhelming majority of its following would not condone a shift to the conservatives without having asked the electorate's approval first.

An opinion sampling made by the *Institut für praxisorientierte Sozialforschung* (ipos) among FDP followers leaves no doubt whatsoever as to where the Liberals camp stands.

Asked "assuming the SPD/FDP coalition were to break up before 1984 and the CDU/CSU and FDP were to make a bid to form a new government, should the government be formed immediately or should there be new elections first?" 78.3 per cent of the respondents favoured new elections.

The same opinion survey (commissioned by the FDP)

Minister's resignation gives Chancellor problems



Antje Huber... had a thankless task.
(Photo: Sven Simon)

It is safe to assume that Family Affairs Minister Antje Huber's days as a Cabinet member were already numbered when she handed in her resignation.

She was evidently one of those ministers the Chancellor wanted to replace as part of the planned Cabinet reshuffle.

Helmut Schmidt realised that his only woman Cabinet member had a rather colourless public image.

But, to be fair to her, it must also be said that her position entailed the thankless task of dealing primarily with peripheral groups, problem cases and social shortcomings, making it very hard for anybody to shine.

Almost invariably dependent on the consensus of other ministries, she frequently had to make decisions she did not approve of. Yet she had to defend these decisions and in doing so she did not even shirk meeting the victims.

It has meanwhile become known that

ned by the FDP) also showed that the Liberals could change partners without falling apart.

Though FDP voters still favour a Social-Liberal course, those in favour of a new coalition partner are gaining ground. Almost 50 per cent of FDP voters want their party to leave the present coalition with the SPD should difficulties continue to mount.

But, as things stand, it is doubtful whether the FDP would still be needed as a coalition partner after a new election.

If today's mood among the public continues, the CDU/CSU could even hope to win the absolute majority. And this would mean that the FDP's willingness to face new elections could cost it its place in government.

Seen in this light, new elections are the cleanest solution for a democratic system but they are the most unlikely way out of the crisis in terms of *realpolitik*.

But this assessment of the situation could lose its validity should the decline of the coalition accelerate in the next few months.

If SPD and FDP find themselves at loggerheads over the federal budget and if the CDU wins the Hesse elections, even leading FDP politicians hold that only new national elections would avert a state crisis.

Lothar M. Marscheid

(Rheinischer Merkur und Welt, 16 April 1982)

she was prepared to resign last autumn when the Cabinet decided to reduce child allowances; but she did not hand in her resignation then out of consideration for the overall position of the Cabinet.

Pointing to this act of loyalty, she appears to have asked the Chancellor to give her a guarantee that she would stay in office, obviously ignoring the fact that no Cabinet post in a democracy can carry such a guarantee.

The fact that the official announcement of Antje Huber's resignation contained not a single word of gratitude or regret indicates how miffed the Chancellor was.

It would not have been asking too much of her to stay in office until that not-too-distant moment when the Chancellor considers it opportune to announce his cabinet reshuffle.

The events surrounding Frau Huber's resignation show how risky it was to officially confirm the plans for a reshuffle and then postpone doing it.

The feeling of insecurity that was so clearly conveyed by Frau Huber has paralysed the whole Cabinet and should not be allowed to continue for any length of time.

He is now at risk of presenting the SPD party congress with an image of the head of a disintegrating government rather than that of a government strong enough to embark on a new beginning.

This is the 20th resignation by a Cabinet minister in the history of the Federal Republic of Germany. But it is evidently the first and only resignation that went off undramatically and in a way that should be normal for a democracy.

This was the unforeseen element for the Chancellor and the reason why he did not hesitate to accept it.

(Der Tagesspiegel, 8 April 1982)

Growing fear of the accumulated overkill potential in the superpowers' arsenals and the knowledge that a nuclear shoot-out would spell the end of Europe and possibly of civilisation prompted peace marchers to take to the streets at Easter.

They are a motley movement that would like to stop an arms race that can only lead to disaster.

This emotional, elemental movement is fed from many sources. And since it can no longer be overlooked as a political reality and has started to exert pressure on policy makers, it was only natural for some dishonest elements to try and make political hay for themselves.

Though in a true democracy nobody can be stopped from questioning current military and moral positions in the face of growing danger, this makes it the more necessary to beware of false prophets for the sake of the cause. And this includes naive and blinkered elements that are easily identifiable.

Those who apply their slogan "Make Peace without Weapons" to the West only and shrug off the fact that those who raise the same demands in the East are treated as criminals can only harm the cause of pacifism.

It is an encouraging sign that the Greens (environmentalists) and the Jusos (young members' branch of the SPD) have clearly distanced themselves from the slogans and tutelage attempts of the German Communist Party (DKP).

These communists protest against Nato plans to boost nuclear defences in Europe and against events in El Salvador while ignoring the events in Afghanistan and Poland.

It is impossible credibly to oppose the Nato two-track decision while at the same time trying to sell the Soviet SS 20s that are targeted on Europe as "peace missiles".

Anybody who spikes the peace movement with the now fashionable anti-American barb will ultimately achieve the opposite of the envisaged goal.

He will not meet with understanding from the majority of the public but with opposition. Germans still remember who it was that defended the freedom of Berliners in the face of the Soviet blockade and the East German Wall — a freedom that includes the right to demonstrate.

The confidence that exists between the Berliners and their Protecting Power is now being undermined by vicious

DEMONSTRATIONS

The two sides to the protest movement

and hypocritical proposals to reduce the Allied presence in the city as a "token of goodwill".

It was owing to Ernst Reuter, the first mayor of West Berlin, that the Western powers committed themselves to the defence of German freedom.

In view of the events of the war that had ended only a few years earlier, this was no mean achievement. It took understanding, mutual faith and friendship to bring this about.

If permitted to happen, the destruction of this common ground could materialise in less time than it took to create it. The forces that are at work here speak of peace and mean capitulation.

The change of consciousness that has been brought about by the peace movement must not be permitted to bog down in emotionalism.

Once this new consciousness enters

the field of politics it would need the very instruments of logic that politicians use as statements, means and that distinguish them from theorising moralists.

No matter how morally irreproachable, the pacifism of the 1930 gave the fascist aggressors the idea that the Western world was decadent and no longer capable of defending itself.

As noble as pacifistic goals might appear to the individual, it was this very pacifism that encouraged the fascists to mount their attack.

Winston Churchill made some apt observations on the subject in his memoirs.

The French slogan *Mourir pour Danzig* (why die for Danzig?) did not prevent the 1939 war but it did hasten the collapse of the French Armed Forces in 1940. The slogan sounds curiously timely now.

Even if the organisers exaggerated the number of demonstrators, it was impressive that tens of thousands of people should have turned up for the Easter marches to demonstrate for peace despite poor weather.

If any proof was still needed, the Easter marches provided it: the peace movement is no fleeting phenomenon but a strong undercurrent politicians will have to reckon with.

But the revived Easter marches also show up the two weaknesses of the movement. One of them (which is almost inevitable in such movements) is a tendency to oversimplify issues to the point where the movement's statements can no longer be taken seriously.

This applies, among other things, to Erhard Eppler's statement in Frankfurt (and he is, after all, a member of the SPD presidium) that the growing peace movement in the West would enlarge the scope for peace activities in the GDR.

This contention is clearly disproved by the persecution of East Germans who propagate peace — a persecution

Changes to the Easter marches

that is getting tougher from day to day rather than letting up.

It also applies to Oskar Lafontaine, another leading SPD member, who demands that the West should forgo the first nuclear strike. This is unrealistic because it would mean that the West would have to boost its conventional armament to offset the East's supremacy in this field.

The other weakness lies in the structure of the movement.

The Easter march movement, which began in the 1950s, disintegrated in the late 1960s as a result of severe disputes over the invasion of Czechoslovakia.

At that time, orthodox communists had a considerable influence in the movement and they naturally opposed any protests against Moscow.

Today's situation is different. Unlike in the 1960s, the Easter marches are no longer an isolated minority movement but a major drive that extends far into the coalition parties and the public as a whole.

But the very thing that disunited the movement in the 1960s could repeat itself now: dogmatic members of the German Communist Party (DKP) are making a bid to invade the movement.

In this respect there has also been a change in the situation since the big demonstration in Bonn on 10 October 1981.

That demonstration was an expression of a drive for peace and not, as the CDU/CSU claim, the proof of a popular front.

The fact that many communist groups attended the rally mattered little. The movement essentially originated in the Protestant Church and the organisers, who came from the same quarter, did not permit these elements to take the wind out of their sails.

It was the organisers who drafted the text of the appeal, the programme and the list of speakers.

At that time, Eppler was right when he said: "I wouldn't dream of running

It is easy for the moralist to demand the removal of nuclear weapons from Europe and he can be sure of general acclaim.

But the politician who not only has to meet his obligation to preserve peace but also the obligation to preserve his country's freedom will inevitably have to raise the question as to the necessity of boosting his country's conventional defences if his renunciation of nuclear weapons is not to be seen as an open invitation to aggression with conventional arms.

A peace movement that cannot seek a way out of the arms race must take these considerations into account.

Imperfect and cynical though it might be from a moral point of view, mutual deterrence has ensured peace between the superpowers for some decades.

Military balance is a must in this concept of deterrence. Perhaps this concept gives us no more than a limited time peace. But those who want to do away with it should have something to put in its place.

The destiny of mankind is not governed by good intentions but by their

Continued on page 8

away every time a few communists pitch up."

But the communists are now trying to exploit the natural organisational weakness of any such movement by profiling themselves as the hard core. And they have been successful.

According to the Bonn government the DKP and its subsidiary organisations appeared to be the "moving, organising and steering force" behind the Easter marches. We can well disagree the qualifying word "appear". This is simply in keeping with Bonn's usual political caution.

The fact that the DKP is actually making inroads in the peace movement was borne out by the preparatory conference for the major anti-Nato demonstration in Bonn on 10 July.

The DKP and its subsidiary and undercover organisations are trying to use the peace movement to gain the influence which the electorate consistently denies them.

If necessary, they are even prepared to jettison fundamental principles. They thus tried to involve themselves with the squatters although this runs counter to their principle of presenting themselves as a law and order party.

Unless the peace movement makes a point of warding off these incursions, it is bound to lose more than just a few groups that no longer want to go along. What it would lose would be its credibility.

Anybody who cooperates with people who protest only against Western missiles and not against their counterparts in the East and who talk only about El Salvador but not about Poland and Afghanistan, who promote the peace movement in the West without saying a word about the repression of the movement in the GDR, can hardly be credible.

As Rudolf Bahro puts it: "How long are we going to continue telling ourselves that we can cooperate with these hypocrites? ... the DKP is the other Bloc's arm in our movement."

Bahro is right. If the peace movement is to continue being taken seriously, it must shun the DKP and related elements.

Rudolf Grosskopf

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 14 April 1982)

LABOUR

Trades Union chief departs in reflective mood

The German Confederation of Trade Unions (DGB) passed a new manifesto only a year ago. It was intended as a farewell present for its general secretary, Heinz Oskar Vetter.

But this was not the way things worked out. Vetter has departed amid conspicuous signs of embitterment.

Against the background of the scandal surrounding the union-owned property company, Neue Heimat, Vetter's final words sound like a lament on shattered dreams.

He was elected chairman of the DGB with almost 8 million members, 13 years ago. He was the obvious choice.

Unemployment a tough nut

Unemployment statistics issued in March this year provide final proof of the fact that the traditional mechanisms on the labour market are losing importance.

Talk of economic and seasonal factors is no longer enough to adequately explain the consistently high level of unemployment.

At the end of March there were 600,000 more men and women registered as jobseekers at the Employment Office than at the same time last year.

Substantial structural changes on the labour market have taken place, induced by technological innovation and rationalisation in the industrial sector.

The overall economic situation obviously has a large part to play.

In this respect, there is a new wave of optimism, although the impulses from export sales are gradually becoming less intense, and nobody seems to know where the domestic market is to get its from.

Irrespective of such hopes neither an economic upturn, nor the end of the winter season are going to bring about a miracle on the labour market.

Even a third factor in the development of the labour market can no longer raise hopes: the transition to a service society.

This phenomenon has been observed by social scientists for 30 years, and implies that at some stage the industrial sector will no longer be able to absorb labour.

The agricultural sector developed similarly during the first half of this century.

The use of electronic equipment in offices and administration means that the services sector no longer presents a possible solution to rising unemployment.

Giving up cannot course be the answer. A rethinking process is necessary, which must start in companies themselves.

The only way out of trouble is to invest in new sectors of production, if the economy is to cure itself in any way at all.

Such investments are necessary for the unemployed and the firms alike.

Considering tough international competition, this is the only way for firms to guarantee their survival.

(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 6 April 1982)



Heinz Oskar Vetter ... 'not a spokesman for the discontented'.

(Photo: J. H. Darchinger)

He consistently preferred dialogue to brusque confrontation.

Vetter's activities were based on this approach and this included talks with employers. He was always convinced that the free market system could be run on the basis of consensus between the various social groups.

Therefore, true to his principle, he immediately resumed talks with the employers after the West German constitutional court had decided in 1976 that the worker participation law was in line with the constitution.

But Vetter never made it easy for the coalition. "This government has got to be pushed all the way," he said in 1975, as the unemployment figures began rising after the Opec oil embargo.

And when Herbert Ehrenberg (SPD) was appointed Labour Minister

without the DGB being informed beforehand, Vetter didn't mince his words.

He said the new minister was not going to have an easy time of it, not being "one of us," as he put it.

Whether dealing with employment programmes, government debts, worker participation, or the pension scheme, there had always been a certain strain between the DGB and the Social-Democrat/Liberal coalition.

First, it was the Liberals who got the stick, then the Social Democrats.

The question remains: what happens after Vetter?

He always was a bit of a loner, and he has "reigned over" the DGB longer than any other chairman.

Four years ago he was re-elected with the largest number of votes ever.

In achieving this, he defeated the chairmen of the two largest individual unions, the metalworkers' union and the public service and transport workers' union. They have never really got on well.

Although Vetter has boosted his own personal image, he hasn't managed to strengthen the DGB leadership in such a way as to counterbalance the power of the "big" unions. Any support he got was from the "smaller" unions, such as the printers' union.

The big unions have always given him the cold shoulder.

This makes his farewell words of advice all the more bitter.

The secret barons of the individual unions have got to sacrifice a chunk of their autonomy, says Vetter.

This is certainly one of the problems Vetter's successors in the DGB are going to have to get to grips with.

Jens Peter Eichmeier

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 14 April 1982)

More investment the answer

A very large section of the unemployed would even find it difficult to find a job in an improved economy.

The ultimate losers in the constant alternation between losing a job and finding another are the unqualified and the weak members of the labour force.

The unfavourable age structure in West Germany certainly doesn't help. The age group about to retire in the next few years are few in number.

They make way for large number of jobseekers born in the high birth-rate years of the 60s. Their chances are rapidly deteriorating.

After so much effort had been put into creating sufficient vocational training and university places it would seem a waste if a young person's first experience on the labour market is unemployment.

Human beings cannot be trained and then kept in reserve for years on end. A considerable lack of qualified workers is already expected during the 90s.

Society must find more flexible ways of dealing with fluctuations in supply and demand on the labour market.

This is where early voluntary retirement enters into the issue.

It would benefit many of the qualified youngsters, since many of the older workers are skilled workers. Obviously, not every job vacated is going to find a replacement.

Many firms are cutting back on per-

sonnel. However, an economic recovery would also see an improvement.

The crux of the matter is not so much whether to introduce an earlier retirement age or not, but rather more how such a venture is to be financed.

The easy answer given by some politicians, that the additional pension money will be financed by the unemployment benefit saved, leaves a great deal to be desired.

First of all, there aren't many new jobs as there are pensioners; and second, the jobs vacated are not suited to the low qualifications of many of the present unemployed.

Yet again the poor taxpayer would have to bear the strain of financing both the pensioners and the unemployed.

The pension scheme certainly cannot finance such a project.

Any additional deductions in insurance to finance early retirees would make the whole thing unattractive.

Higher insurance deductions just cannot be paid by employers or employees.

The burden of the social security system is already too great.

Early retirement can only be financed by that part of the national income which is available for private consumption.

Such financing would as it were have to be bought by means of sacrificing wage and salary increases.

However, at the moment there are no signs of either the unions or workers themselves being willing to make such a sacrifice.

This could prove to be the barrier to the early retirement plans.

Wolfgang Mauersberg

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 13 April 1982)

GDR caught with pants down

What the peace movements in East and West have in common is not only to defuse the powder keg that is out globe. They are also thorns in the flesh of their respective governments.

The West is irked by "its" peace movement because it could hamper the decision to boost Nato's nuclear defences in Europe and hence the Geneva conference.

The GDR government (the only one in the East Bloc that has to contend with a peace movement) opposes its rebellious citizens because it is hard to point to the West as the only culprit in matters of arms build-up and to use large segments of the Western population as a witness for the prosecution.

While in the West even "unloved demonstrators" are at liberty to march, East Germany has banned such demonstrations and even stickers and badges promoting peace, with such slo-

gans as "Swords into Ploughshares" are frowned on.

This allergic reaction on the other side of the barbed wire fence is due to the vulnerability of the other Germany's authoritarian system in which any kind of protest triggers an alarm.

There can be no doubt that the GDR peace movement, which enjoys the sympathy of the East German Church, is increasingly turning into a problem for the leadership.

But the pressure on the governments of both Germanies also has its good side. It could provide an additional incentive for the missile tallies (who have been fairly unsuccessful in the past) to actually negotiate a disarmament.

Of course, the best thing would be if the approximate global military balance were enhanced by a balance of protest.

Jörn C. Praetorius

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 13 April 1982)

There are likely to be more people unemployed out of work this year than the Bonn government originally thought.

It now estimates the average will be 1.8 million instead of the original guess of 1.6 million.

At the end of the year, it estimates that more than 2 million will be out of work.

These figures mean that budget deficits will be larger than anticipated, and probably government borrowing as well.

This news comes shortly after Bonn found that estimated tax revenues were well below what they should have been.

As a result, the public debt is likely to reach DM600bn this year (1982: DM 60bn; 1972: DM156bn).

This is likely to rise to DM800bn by 1985.

Annual interest payments by the state have risen from DM46bn to DM60bn within only three years.

Deutsche Bank chairman Wilfried Guth warns that investment will be affected.

This was the risk as long as the business community feared unchecked public sector deficits and that the financing of the shortfall would put the brakes on interest rate reductions with the attendant danger of tax increases.

Unfavourable developments and omissions in these sectors are the main reasons for the continued disinclination to invest.

This is worsened by the relatively low use of production capacities in most branches of industry, unfavourable sales prospects and excessive rises in production costs relative to productivity.

Berlin plan on management

Plans have been aired to establish a school of business management in Berlin.

The city's Economic Affairs Senator, Elmar Pjeroth, says the Harvard Business School and Northwestern University have agreed to provide know-how and guest lecturers.

His model would be the Management Institute in Fontainebleau, near Paris.

Herr Pjeroth has just returned from a tour of Chicago, Boston, New York and Washington.

He said he was optimistic about cooperation between Berlin's business community, and American companies and scientific institutions.

The purpose of his trip was to find new investors for Berlin and to maintain contact with US companies already operating in the city.

The advertising agency FCB Kommunikations GmbH of Frankfurt has announced its intention to shift its head office to Berlin.

The decision on the establishment by the American Bell-Howell corporation of a new photocopying plant in Europe is still pending.

Pjeroth, who was accompanied by the head of the Wirtschaftsförderungsgesellschaft, Robert Layton, and the head of the Berlin Marketing Organisation, Günter Wiltzki, said he was impressed by the close cooperation between American companies and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT).

He would like to apply to Berlin an MIT scheme which cooperates with 200 firms in a drive to combine practical business and science in helping innovation.

FINANCE

1982 jobless estimate is revised — upwards

As a result, this year's investments in equipment will decline at a greater rate than in 1981 (2.4 per cent in real terms).

The decline will be greater in the construction industry (3.3 per cent).

This is the forecast by the Kiel-based Institute for the World Economy whose labour market projections have now been adopted by Bonn.

The order books have done nothing to brighten the overall weak economic picture.

Domestic orders in January and February declined steeply against the previous two months; but the continued lively influx of foreign orders has prevented an even more severe setback.

A comparison of the three-month period from December through February with the same period last year shows a decline in orders by one per cent (adjusted for inflation).

The healthy influx of orders from abroad (up 9 per cent in real terms) was not enough to offset the decline of domestic orders (6 per cent).

The output is correspondingly sluggish.

In the construction industry, January and February showed a decline of 12 per cent against the same period last year.

Output in the basic materials, production goods and consumer goods industries has also declined, though not as steeply.

Only the capital goods industry has shown a 3.5 per cent growth (against January/February 1981).

The growth is primarily because of increased production in the motor vehicles and electrical engineering sectors.

As a result of the generally sluggish influx of orders and low production figures, there were 843 insolvencies this January — close to 50 per cent more than a year earlier.

The usual improved improvement in spring has largely failed to materialise. There were about 1.8 million jobless in March, which is 601,230 more than in the same month of 1981.

The number of short-shift workers (500,000) was also more than 33 per cent higher.

The number of vacancies (133,551)

was more than 50 per cent lower than a year ago.

Rise in unemployment last year was essentially due to school leavers.

But now the poor state of the economy and the unusually high unemployment figures (similar to those of the mid-1950s) have had the beneficial effect of markedly reducing the rise in wage costs.

The collective bargaining deals so far have realised increases of about 4.2 per cent, giving rise to the hope that investment decisions will not again be severely hampered by the cost of wages.

This, along with improved productivity, could help reduce industry's per

Lambsdorff delivers a lecture in Japan — and gets a reply

Japan's industry is much less subsidised than Europe's, a Japanese businessman said in Kyoto.

Mr Tanaka, former head of Miti, was replying to Bonn Economic Affairs Minister Count Otto Lambsdorff, who said that the State and private industry in Japan cooperated too closely in a bid to capture foreign markets.

Count Lambsdorff had delivered a lecture on the last day of his visit to Japan. It was to mark the eighth German-Japanese economic talks.

The lecture was organised jointly by the Japanese industrial association Kandeiren, the Standing Conference of German Commerce and Industry and the German Chamber of Commerce and Industry in Japan.

Count Lambsdorff's main point was that research and development were regarded as a matter of private business in the Federal Republic of Germany.

Substantial state subsidies were only granted when a company's own resources were inadequate to get the technological research off the ground.

Anything more beyond this was undesirable for two reasons: it would deter free competition and slow down structural adaptation processes.

A problem yet to be solved is that of how to make the research results that

unit wage costs — a major factor governing international competitiveness.

The further development of our terms of trade remains to be seen. The same applies to whether or not the administrative obstacles that have led to an investment bottleneck can be removed.

The positive effects of the export growth, the improved position of German manufacturers against competition from imports and possible impulses from stock cycles will hardly be enough to get the economy back on its feet this year.

Given a generally stagnating production and declining private consumption, the number of bankruptcies and jobless are likely to remain exceptionally high this year.

But there are also some bright spots. The Ifo Institute, for instance, pins its hopes on new growth impulses but it is too early to tell when scepticism will give way to confidence.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 14 April 1982)

have been achieved through government subsidies available to other companies.

Referring to a discussion with Lambsdorff a few days earlier, Tanaka said that the USA stood no chance of ever regaining its former weight in the world economy.

Japan and the Federal Republic of Germany should fill the vacuum.

Tanaka's address was interesting primarily because it showed how self-confident Japan had become.

The German-Japanese economic talks have in the past few years been too general to help German businessmen.

This year, however, the talks included issues of day-to-day foreign trade and marketing.

Not all complaints by Germany were justified, frequently because Germans don't fully understand the Japanese.

Japanese replies to German contentions were again this year in very general terms.

The talks have served to make Japan's industry aware of the problems German industrialists face in Japan.

Even while this year's talks were in progress, Germany's pharmaceutical industry reported that some of the German complaints about Japanese import practices had been remedied by Tokyo.

Complaints are often due to misunderstandings.

Thyssen AG, for example, has had problems selling crankshafts to Japan — a problem that made headlines in the German press. This turned out to be a matter that must be settled between the companies concerned.

Japan's metal industry is as eager to ward off foreign competition as the German industry would be in a similar position.

There is no discrimination in the strict sense of the word because no government department has interfered in the (so far) unsuccessful negotiations between Thyssen and the potential Japanese buyers.

Germany now hopes that the Japanese government will intervene with its industry on Thyssen's behalf... but that would be tantamount to resorting to the very methods Count Lambsdorff is trying to combat.

Sebastian Probenius (Händlerblatt, 13 April 1982)

BUSINESS

Agriculture faces up to the crucial questions of the future

Will farms need to get bigger to survive? Will family farms take over from agricultural produce factories?

How many farmers will be able to live off their farms in the future? Will they be ground down by the competition of a free market and go out of business?

These are some of the questions that must be faced today.

Germany's farmers have been well protected over the past few decades.

So it is not surprising that farmers in Holland and Denmark have more readily adapted to changed market conditions.

For example, 35 per cent of the Dutch dairy farmers have herds of more than 60 head compared with only three per cent in Germany.

Competitors in neighbouring countries have not allowed themselves to be guided by models but have been guided by the market.

In Germany, on the other hand, the model of the family farm — which was created in Western Europe — has been largely misinterpreted as an alternative to the "agricultural produce factory."

Whole regions have taken this as an excuse to act counter to market forces.

The question is, how meaningful are such models?

Full-time farmers of today have increased their livestock in the past few years because technology made this

possible and because they hoped that technological progress would ensure them of incomes similar to those in non-agricultural occupations.

Twenty cows were no longer enough to provide a living and the herd was therefore increased to 60 head or more in a bid to adapt to changed price-cost ratios.

This has led to farms far larger than the concept of the "idyllic family farm". Experts want to preserve this type of farm. They reject any shift of agricultural production into industrial type enterprises.

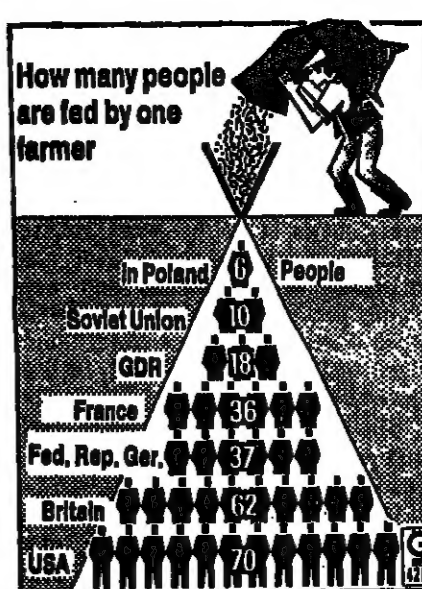
But it is not only the farmer in the Bavarian backwoods with his ten cows who interprets this differently from his opposite number in Schleswig-Holstein with his 50 hectares of land and 100 pigs.

The differences become more marked when agricultural advisers have to put the model in practice.

They must orientate themselves by technological progress and the required income — and that for a span of three generations.

The size of a family farm must depend on the work capacity of the family and the productive use of the available labour.

For example, in 1950 one farm hand could look after ten cows, but now the same hand can now take care of 40 to 60 animals.



The proportions are similar in crop farming where the ratio per hand is 18 hectares in 1950 as opposed to 100 hectares now.

Therefore, to make full use of two working family members or hired help, a farm could now efficiently keep 100 cows or more than 1,000 pigs.

The question is: Are such farms already agricultural industries, in other words the negative thing usually associated with this term? And do they violate the model idea of the family farm?

Hardly, for if they did farms that in 1950 maintained ten cows would also have deserved to be labelled in that way.

If we are to approve of the market fluctuations and accept the fact that there are only so many slices to a cake we must also accept a dwindling number of farmers.

In doing so, we must be fully aware of what goes on in a farmer's family that has 20 cows and doesn't know now to go on from there.

In the long run, farmers are not only losing their livelihood but they can no longer find other work once they are 50 and — to make matters worse — they are not even eligible for unemployment benefits. This is the other side of the "technical progress" coin.

It is also partly the result of a policy that has evaded facing uncomfortable truths — a policy of comfortable untruths.

Anybody who says that three farmers with 20 cows each are more valuable than one with a herd of 60 runs the risk of making the three believe that they can earn a living in the long term only to find that their livelihood is no longer ensured.

Such facile slogans do not preserve a large number of livelihoods; they destroy them by preventing necessary adaptation processes.

The number of livestock or the area of land which one farm worker can look after continues to rise; and larger units are becoming necessary to make up for rising costs.

But this development also places greater demands on the "manager" of the farm.

Earning capacity of a family farm therefore depends not only on its size but also on the quality of its management.

The adaptation pressure of the past few years has, by and large, allowed no

growth of income. It is therefore not surprising that administrative measures are now under discussion aimed at preventing growth beyond a certain level.

Mooted concepts range from legal provisions to limit the size of farm all the way to the introduction of farm maps complete with crop planning, guaranteed sales and fixed prices. But state-decreed upper limits cannot solve the problem.

Problems will be solved the better the sooner those concerned become aware of their position and the sooner they ask themselves whether their farms can still provide a livelihood for their children.

Many opportunities in this respect were missed in the 1970s when the earning capacity was still good.

But streamlining labour away is not the approach for the future. What is needed is more livestock or arable land. This, however, leads to stiffer competition.

German agriculture cannot leave the market to others. One ray of light here lies in the fact that those who have heeded the advice of agricultural counselors have operated more profitably than the others.

In fact, not only was their balance sheet healthier; but work on such farms has become more worthy of human beings.

It should be clear to all that administrative measures can only keep the problems at bay in the short term. But this will only make the awakening later more shattering.

Dr Horst Wagner

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 8 April 1982)

Entrepreneurs a dying breed

Entrepreneurs are a dying breed in Germany.

The Institute for the German Economy (IW) has just presented a study showing that the number of self-employed diminished by 27 per cent between 1960 and 1980.

The decline was particularly pronounced in agriculture where the figure was 260,000 between 1969 and 1979.

But there are also fewer small and medium-sized businesses.

Some 55,000 self-employed threw in the towel in the recession year 1975.

This was followed by a slight increase until 1979; but the institute does not regard this as a change of trend due to the resumed decline after 1979.

In 1960, there were still 58 self-employed to every 1,000 Germans. By 1980 the ratio was 39.

If this trend were to continue until the year 2000, we would find ourselves with 24 self-employed to every 1,000 people.

IW: "It is hard to imagine that this will be enough to maintain a market economy that is in a better position to supply the public with the necessary goods and services than any other economic system."

Shortage of entrepreneurs would be a major danger to the economic and social performance of the Federal Republic, says IW.

It blames this on overemphasis of the "cared for" rather than the "independent" person resulting from our increasingly perfected social welfare net.

The fact that entrepreneurial profits have been dropping was as a contributing element.

Hans-J. Mahrke

(Die Welt, 5 April 1982)



Economic Affairs Minister Count Lambsdorff in Tokyo with the Japanese Prime Minister, Mr Suzuki.

(Photo: dpa)

PERSPECTIVES

Political change and social progress through German and English eyes

On mots are often good stand-ins for arguments.

This certainly applies to a comment made by Peter Preston, editor of the liberal British daily *The Guardian*, during the 32nd traditional Anglo-German Königswinter conference held this year in Cambridge.

Preston, in the discussion on the disintegration of political authority in the face of new challenges, referred to this own reaction when reading a manuscript maintaining that things will never be the same again.

He just deleted the presumptuous sentence. "Because things always remain more or less the same," he says.

The point made underlines the basic difference between the English and the German attitude towards political change and social protest. The topic for this year's discussion entitled 'The Anxious Years' could only be fully comprehended by resorting to a borrowed German word, which captures the depth of the feeling felt by the Germans, *angst*.

Alongside the East-West relationship, North-South relations, and unemployment, the discussion groups focussed their attention on the 'Crisis of Authority'.

Youth protest, violent demonstrations, the peace and ecology movements, the new political parties, are all problems which cannot be directly applied to British society.

As regard youth protest, the discussion partners soon established the following fundamental difference: protest by England's youth originates in underprivileged groups, lacking social opportunities, or in groups living in rundown residential areas, whereas protest by West German youth is a kind of reflex of an affluent society, i.e. a phenomenon.

Street protests

Continued from page 4

fects; and these effects can be a far cry from the original intentions.

These are the lessons that should be learned from history — lessons that the apostles of "pure creeds" tend to overlook.

Neither Reagan nor Brezhnev wants war. This is the assumption on which we must operate; even though the posters carried by demonstrators would like to convince us of the opposite. The danger of an explosion lies in a mutually wrong assessment of the other side.

Those who call on the West to give a signal of goodwill by unilaterally disarming as a confidence-building measure obviously forget the bitter experience of the past 50 years.

Disarmament is a tough business. It must rest on mutual give and take.

The peace movement could help make the public aware of this necessity. But to do so it would have to proceed wisely and not permit itself to be manipulated.

The prominent American politicians who are experts in this field and who a few weeks ago raised their voices on the disarmament issue could lend a helping hand here.

(Der Tagesspiegel, 11 April 1982)

non which emerges from the privileged middle class.

In Britain, basic material suffering lies at the root of this problem; in West Germany, there is an mental and spiritual gap to be filled.

A closer look at this assertion, however, shows it to be oversimplified. West Germany has got its own youth unemployment problems, and every young person who does happen to find a job in Britain is not therefore automatically going to be a politically well-behaved lad.

The reaction by the respective social and political establishment in each case is an equally important factor.

West Germany's feeling that the politically-loaded turmoil is an attack on the whole political system is much more pronounced than is the case in Britain.

The British participants repeatedly asked whether this might well be a result of the relative lack of a West German national identity.

This could be true to a certain extent, although one must bear in mind that the historical collapse of German political tradition in the Third Reich is just as

The relationship between French President Mitterrand and West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt is still not as intense, close and friendly as it was during the Giscard era.

However, after overcoming initial difficulties, the Socialist from Paris and the Social Democrat from Bonn have moved much closer together than sceptics had at first expected.

The fact that Mitterrand, a careful politician, is already talking to Schmidt about intensifying cooperation between both countries in defence and strategic matters is a sure sign of closer contacts.

Of course, these may well only be the first tentative steps on France's part.

However, there is no doubt about the fact that Mitterrand, once a keen scholar under de Gaulle, is interested in strengthening the European component in the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, military and bolstering the Franco-German friendship agreement.

Reliable sources in Bonn are convinced that the Federal Chancellery and the Foreign Office are still not quite clear about Mitterrand's intentions. Whether or not this is true is a matter for conjecture.

The fact that there was no official denial by Bonn or by Paris of a recent statement made by a radio station in the Saar claiming that bilateral dialogue had made great steps forward would indicate there is some truth to the rumours of closer cooperation.

The unpredictability of the USA is one of the reasons behind the desire to add greater strength, both in foreign and defence policy, to voicing the interests of the Europeans.

A glance at post-war developments reveals that such ideas and objectives are nothing new.

The European Defence Community, which was the centre of discussion in the 50s, can be regarded as the first attempt to unite the countries of the old continent in such a way as to create an

important for the self-awareness of the political élite as the territorial division.

There are also noticeable differences in the way both party systems react to changed challenges.

The social, political, and above all the constitutional and electoral characteristics are of course markedly different.

An analysis shows that the West German party system is always threatened from the periphery of the political spectrum, be it from the extreme right, as in the case of the neo-Nazi NPD during the 60s, or from the economical and so-called 'alternative' movements today.

The British system, on the other hand, finds itself confronted with a void in the middle of the traditional party system, a void into which an alliance would like to move, one between the Liberal and the new Social Democratic parties.

Whereas centripetal forces are emerging in the English party system, i.e. a tendency towards the centre, the West German system registers centrifugal forces, i.e. it initially begins to break up.

During the 19th century there was a kind of love-hate relationship between

Mitterrand and Schmidt

international political factor which cannot be ignored.

And this was independent of the indispensable US nuclear protective shield. Of course, other factors had a part to play at the time.

A military protective barrier against Stalinist aggression was to be erected, which would include West Germany.

Although the West German potential was needed, a nationally structured army was never again to be created. This project fell through in 1953 because of French opposition.

The French National Assembly was still of the opinion that negotiations could be carried out on the basis of Stalin's controversial offer of neutrality for the whole of Germany.

The French veto meant that new ways had to be found. Politicians hastily put together the Western European Union, which was to serve as a substitute, yet led a shadowy existence as a part of Nato.

Despite the common interest shared by all Nato members, there were repeated cases of differences of opinion between Europeans and Americans.

This subsequently led to an ideological split in the West German Christian Democrat parties between the Gaullists and the advocates of continued transatlantic cooperation.

The President of the Bundestag then, Eugen Gerstenmaier, developed the "ellipse theory" according to which Nato was to have two centres, one American and one European.

Yet again the intention was to give Europe a special role. Unfortunately, there was a lot of half-baked debate on the issue.

The basic objective, however, was to

the British and the Germans, the former regarded as *perfidious Albion*.

Nowadays, all (at least all Anglo-Saxon) Germans agree: Britain, you're better off. Indeed, the level of political civilisation, the countenance and self-assuredness, and also the casual arrangement of England's political élite have got to be admired.

Even in the case of the present conflict surrounding the Falkland Islands there is a mixture of national melodrama and self-irony.

They way it is taken for granted that a Conservative government in London criticises American foreign policy is something quite unimaginable in Bonn.

Admittedly, Washington's reaction to the West German course is a more sensitive one.

Nevertheless, there are doubts as to the idyllic image.

Of the two political élites which met regularly at the Königswinter conference, the West German one may in the long run turn out to be the one to emerge more appropriately to social conflict due to its uncertain kind of nervousness.

Peregrine Worsthorne, a well-known conservative journalist, analysed the crisis of political institutions by brilliantly attacking the liberal disorganised tendencies, and wholeheartedly supporting authority as such.

Somehow this all sounded very refreshing, yet at the same time rather tiquated.

Robert Leich

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 6 April 1982)

create a little more independence in plans hatched in Washington.

Adenauer, then Chancellor, was attracted by the plan. He set up a Franco-German friendship agreement with General de Gaulle, an agreement which most people expected would disturb and perhaps anger the other European countries and the USA.

This was a justifiable expectation, since de Gaulle mistrusted the Americans more than anyone else.

If he had his way, he would have taken away from Nato altogether, and concentrated on setting up a military alliance with West Germany.

The agreement was drawn up in 1963. De Gaulle's intention was to create the backbone of bilateral defence policies and a nuclear protective shield for the European core.

For the Bundestag this intention was too far and it took the sting out of it, passing a corresponding resolution.

Nato therefore remained unaffected by the special friendship agreement between de Gaulle and Adenauer.

Admittedly, today's situation is completely different. The Europeans are no means content with Washington's actions.

They take advantage of every opportunity to make it clear that both the policies towards the East bloc and the defence policies are not automatically obliged to take note of any recommendations President Reagan may make.

The preconditions for an intensification of the European component are therefore much better than 20 years ago.

However, Chancellor Schmidt will find himself faced with similar problems to Adenauer, were he to play himself President at the head of a European faction together with the French.

For this reason alone, Mitterrand will find it most difficult to put his plan into practice.

Arno Helmer

(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 3 April 1982)

RESEARCH

Construction faults blamed for Berlin Congress Centre roof failure

Quality use of steel rods in pre-stressed concrete has been blamed for the Berlin Congress Centre roof collapse two years ago.

One person was killed and several injured.

An investigation team found that the steel had not been properly embedded in the concrete.

This had allowed dampness and carbon dioxide to seep through to the sections taking the strain. Corrosion was the result.

A report into the incident was then carried out by three experts for steel, concrete and construction: Professor Hans-Jürgen Engell, the director of the Max-Planck Institute for Iron Research, in Düsseldorf; Professor Karl Kordina, head of the test institute for the building and construction industry in Brunswick; and Professor Jörg Schlaich, head of the Institute for Civil Engineering at the University of Stuttgart.

Checking for cracks

Construction components which have been under severe strain need periodic checking.

Cracks occur if the molecular bond in the material fails.

The research department of the West German aeronautics company Vereinigte Flugtechnische Werke GmbH (VFW) is working on a new method of detecting such cracks in their early stages.

Light-conducting glass fibres with a diameter of only three hundredths of a millimetre — two to three times larger than a human hair — have enabled a highly-sensitive sensory system to be developed for discovering cracks.

These glass fibres can be painted on to the surface by using an undercoat, becoming firmly linked to the material.

If a crack develops, the fibre will be damaged or broken and the light beam at the other end will be interrupted.

This is established by means of optical-electronic elements and registered electronically.

The break in the fibre can be seen by the naked eye, since the light is missing where the crack has occurred.

There are many advantages to this new system. Unlike electricity, light need not be insulated.

As opposed to electric cables, glass cannot corrode, and the break in the glass fibre is irreversible. That means even if the glass fibres are close together, the light will not be passed on.

In the aircraft construction industry, but also in other fields, this revolutionary procedure, known as FORS, could lead to a change in the present fail-safe philosophy, which tries to eliminate as many errors as possible.

Up to now, additional mechanical construction components and supports have been used as safety measures.

These are implemented in such a way as to at least cover the period between two inspections.

The use of the FORS system to control component structures would mean that such inspections need not be carried out so frequently.

(Die Welt, 3 April 1982)

The steel in the rods reacts with the more often than not polluted air or with rainwater, producing hydrogen, which then eats away at the material.

This hydrogen then weakens the cohesive strength of the individual atoms, and the material becomes brittle, losing its toughness, and breaking under strain. This extremely dangerous phenomenon, 'brittleness due to the penetration of hydrogen', is particularly frequent in large steel constructions. Not only does it endanger buildings, but bridges as well.

In particular, bridges constructed in the early days of prestressed concrete building, the engineers at the time unaware of the disadvantages of this material, seeing only the advantages.

The idea of prestressed concrete construction, originating from a French engineer, reached its technological maturity after the Second World War.

To enable the concrete to bear a greater load (concrete can take considerable strain but has only a limited tensile strength), steel cables are implanted, which are tensioned and then embedded.

Since these extended steel cables try to become less tense, they provide the concrete with a kind of pre-tension, which helps the structure as a whole to take greater strains.

This new construction principle made it possible to build extensive self-supporting roofs, large halls without supporting pillars and huge bridges across wide valleys.

However, the spectacular collapse of

the Reich bridge in Vienna in 1976, the closing off of damaged motorway bridges near Düsseldorf in the same year, and the already mentioned collapse of the roof in Berlin made it clear that there was still a great deal to be done in this field.

Admittedly, the headlines in many of the newspapers ("A third of all prestressed concrete bridges unsafe") were completely exaggerated.

In the April edition of the West German magazine *Kosmos*, Stuttgart civil engineer Professor Fritz Leonhardt helps clarify the issue.

Of about 26,000 pre-stressed concrete bridges across West Germany's roads and motorways only 35 were found to be in need of immediate repair following careful tests.

One small bridge crossing a stream near Düsseldorf is certainly amongst those with no worries about corrosive damage.

For this bridge is the first example of a public civil engineering project in which synthetic resin, enforced by fibreglass, has been used instead of the usual steel cables.

This bridge serves as a model for testing alternatives to the traditional use of prestressed concrete.

It is part of a research project, being carried out by the Strabag Construction company in Cologne and the Chemicals Company Bayer in Leverkusen, and supported by the West German ministry for research and development.

Commissioned by the Department

for Civil Engineering in Düsseldorf, this bridge will provide long-term information, which will be of value to future construction work.

The new cohesive material is called 'polystral', and was developed by the Bayer AG in an attempt to take full advantage of the qualities of fibre enforcement (in particular, of its considerable strength).

Polystral products mainly consist of fibre side for example glass fibre, side by side in a solidifiable synthetic material.

About 1,500 individual fibres are to be found next to each other in a cross-section of one square millimetre.

Since the original substance can be extensively varied, it can be used to many weather-proof materials, which can stand up to high temperature and the effects of many chemicals.

These materials can then be used wherever great strength and rigidity is required, and where static and dynamic load-bearing capacities together with the ability to stand up to corrosion are essential.

The small bridge in Düsseldorf contains approximately 100 polystral cables, which each have a diameter of 7.5 mm.

They have been split up into 12 groups and embedded in the concrete, providing the necessary pre-tension.

Each of the milky-coloured rods can take a load of up to seven tons, and thus comes up to the strength of high quality steel rods.

Polystral's specific density is only a quarter of that for steel, and the production of this new material is not as energy-consuming as in the case of steel. Polystral rods are not held of put together by using the usual methods for metal materials, i.e. no nuts and bolts, no welding.

The individual pieces of material are either glued together with a two-

Continued on page 10

Solar-powered power station comes through trial run

An experimental power station in Manzanares, in Spain just south of Madrid, which operates without using fuel, has successfully completed its trial run.

Just a few days ago, the turbine at the bottom of a 200 metre chimney-like shaft managed to start up the generator.

The project is being carried out by the engineering office Schlaich and Partner in Stuttgart, which was responsible for designing the roof of the Olympic stadium in Munich and the cooling tower in Schmehausen.

The West German ministry for research and development is supporting the building of the power plant, which cost DM5.9m.

The electricity generated, which under full use of the station can reach 50 kilowatts, is channelled into the Spanish network.

The energy tower is in fact a wind-power station. The turbine at the bottom of the shaft however, is not run by natural movement of air.

Air flow is created by a circular heating surface made of sheets of synthetic material.

These sheets have a surface area of 50,000 square metres, and are financed by Hoechst and DuPont.

Although these sheets allow the sunshine to reach the earth, the heat energy is prevented from returning into the atmosphere.

The ground is heated up, and then in turn heats up the air beneath the sheets.

Since hot air expands, it makes its way to the shaft made of sheet-steel, which is ten metres away and supported by wire cables.

It then flows through the turbine in an upward direction and in Manzanares reaches speeds of up to 50 kmph.



First sun, then wind, then electricity. (Photo: dpa)

"By between 8 and 9 a.m. the sun has heated up a large enough concentric air flow to start up the generator" explains one of the engineers from Stuttgart.

By 10 a.m. the turbine has reached its maximum number of revolutions, and the generator provides up to 100 kilowatts of energy.

The station keeps on working long after the sun has long, the ground still emitting the heat it has stored.

A test programme planned for the summers of 1982 and 1983 is intended to find out whether the calculated data are correct.

The engineers from Stuttgart think that the system will have to generate between 50 to 100 times more energy before becoming economically viable.

However, such a 500 megawatt power plant would require a heating field — the engineers refer to it as a 'canopy' — with a diameter of three to four kilometres.

The wind created in such a plant would reach up to 200 kilometres per hour.

There is no danger of environmental problems, since the sunshine and the space needed for such operations can only be found in a desert area anyway.

Such energy towers could, however, even help solve West Germany's energy problems.

The electricity generated need not just be used to light up the desert. It could be used to produce hydrogen, an element which is much cleaner and can be used in a more optimal way than oil products. It is also easier to transport than electricity.

Klaus Müller
(Die Welt, 14 April 1982)

SHIPPING

Submarine-type lifeboat designed to save lives in all circumstances

A submarine-type ship's lifeboat is being developed in a Hamburg shipyard.

The aim is to eliminate all the difficulties which make the traditional lifeboat so unreliable.

The new boat, which is still in the experimental stage, is capable of being launched no matter which way the damaged mother ship is listing, claims the shipyard.

It would then dive to about 20 metres and surface well away from the danger area, and would be protected against heat and burning oil.

Return to the mast and sail

Research in Hamburg into the construction and design of cargo-carrying sailing boats for Indonesia is nearly finished.

Following many scientific tests, a new type of boat is being designed which, it is claimed, will mark a new era in Indonesia's coastal shipping services.

This new model made of steel is to be produced in series.

The prototype can take a maximum load of 1,400 tons, and measures is 70 metres long.

Its almost 1,600 square metres of sails are hoisted on four masts.

Just for comparison, the West German navy's ship, the *Gorch Fock*, which is similar in size, has about 1,900 square metres of sail.

Actual construction work is to begin in Indonesia next year.

Exactly how economical this means of transport is will be tested on a practical basis after 1984.

There are substantial differences between this "Indosailer" and the traditional windjammers, the former resembling a yacht rather than anything else.

Large rectangular spritsails are planned instead of yard rigging.

Unlike the yards, they are broadside on. The "Indosailer" therefore is a schooner which has a kind of sprit boom rather than a gaffsail.

Due to the regularity of the monsoons, it is quite easy to predict the strength and the direction of the wind.

Large sail surface is essential for a predominantly light wind.

If the seas are calm, an auxiliary motor gets the ship moving.

In order to enable even a small crew to recover the sail, a system is being developed which is already in use for sporting vessels.

No final decision has yet been reached on the stays.

A mast without a stay would be too heavy, whereas the traditional stays take up too much space during loading and unloading.

A compromise solution will have to be worked out.

The Indonesians are eager to see the project, financed by the West German ministry for research and development, take off the ground.

Interest shown by Sri Lanka, the Philippines and India, prove that wind is still a force to be reckoned with in shipbuilding.

(Hamburger Abendblatt, 8 April 1982)

A prototype is expected to be operating by next year.

A variation developed in Scandinavia also leaves the ship by diving into the water.

The search for a safer form of lifeboat has been going for years.

After the *Titanic* went down in 1912 with about 1,500 on board, an industrialist offered a prize to any engineer "who can design and build a lifeboat which can stand up to the stormy seas for at least 24 hours, is motor-propelled and can be released from the bridge into the sea within half a minute."

The prize is yet to be awarded.

The trouble with the present rescue system is that it runs too many risks.

Lifeboats are often smashed to smithereens before they even get into the water. Often they can't be launched because the ship is listing, rolling or pitching.

They often capsize or are sucked down with the ship. They have only limited protection against fire and oil.

Hopes are high that the new idea will turn into a new practice. Tests on the Scandinavian model showed that passengers belted into padded seats came through safely after being catapulted into the water from 25 metres up. The boat was also undamaged.

According to the shipyard, the rescue

operation would run along the following lines:

- the crew stays on board the damaged ship until it is just about to actually sink (experts regard the ship as the safest place to be as long as it is still afloat);

- the boat is released from the inside and is then ejected into the sea irrespective of weather and visibility, whether there is fire or not, or whether the ship is keeling over;

Even if the ship keels over and starts to rapidly sink, automatic hydraulic pressure release guarantees that the lifeboat can be projected into safety.

A flap at the rear gives access while the lifeboat is afloat.

A lock prevent water getting into the vessel.

Following preliminary experiments in the shipyard using wooden models, further tests will be carried out by a research institute in Hamburg.

Attention will be focused on developing a suitable bow shape (high stability is required); the lifeboat's reaction to being ejected from different heights while the ship is rolling and reeling in seas with waves of up to 30 metres, and how it reemerges after being ejected from different angles of listing or even from a ship lying on its side.

The pride of the ice pack

up to 5cm thick and a specially shaped bottom.

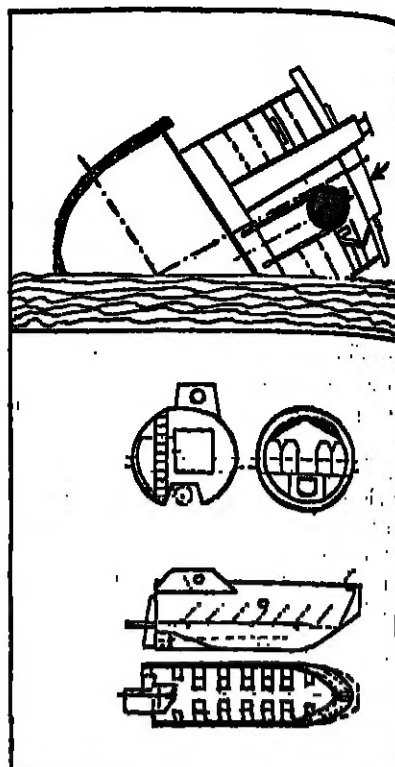
Its bow is also of a new design. The engines, which generate 20,000 horsepower, can drive the vessel through ice two metres thick.

Special cabins in the ship are designed as survival quarters in emergency. Here, the crew would be able to survive the entire dark Antarctic winter at below 50 degrees centigrade until the snow melted again.



The 'Polarstern', the new research ship, as it will appear when it sails into Antarctic waters. A new hull design and steel plating system make it a tough battering ram that will be able to crunch ice two metres deep.

(Photo: Jochen Schaefer/Jürgen Dohert)



Listing ship with lifeboat ready to be ejected off allway at rear. Below, side view views.

(Drawing: Gerhard Tacke)

Whether shipowners will adopt the new system is another matter altogether. New systems are expensive, and in shipping companies are likely to employ the system unless there are compulsory safety regulations.

The Scandinavian life-boat *Catapa*, which has been on board the Norwegian freighter *Tacoola* since 1977, is a sicaly a variation of the West German rescue-satellite.

Gerhard Tacke

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt 11 April 1982)

The ship's task will be to supply a West German Antarctic research station and carry out its own polar research.

It is packed with ultra-modern scientific equipment and laboratories, and will host up to 40 scientists of all kinds. It will have a crew of 36.

Operating helicopters on board, with a hydrogen generator, and transporting dynamite for seismic experiments are just a few of the dangers involved.

The ship's shell was officially launched in January. But it still had the appearance of an ugly duckling at the time; rusty brown skeleton and unpolished.

A few days after this official ceremony it was moved down from Kiel to Rendsburg, near Hamburg, to receive its final touches.

The sturdy ship is expected to be ready by the end of the year. Then, if all goes according to plan, it will immediately head for Antarctica.

Experts feel this would be too early since there are still a few initial problems to be overcome.

Monika Müller and Jürgen Dohert
(Mannheimer Morgen, 3 April 1982)

Continued from page 9

component-adhesive, clamped, or a combination of both procedures is used.

Alongside the bridge in Düsseldorf, a fibre-reinforced method has been tested in a large relay station.

As soon as long-term experience has been made in its use, official application for polystyrene's general use can be made.

Michael Glöck

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt 9 April 1982)

LITERATURE

Wilhelm Busch: wisdom behind the lampooning



Wilhelm Busch... drawings in his maths book.
(Photo: IP/Archiv für Kunst und Geschichte)

After years at the Polytechnic friends succeeded in arranging for him to move to the art college in Düsseldorf in 1851. Later, in Antwerp, he studied the great Dutch masters Rubens, Brouwer, Teniers and Frans Hals.

But years were to pass before he gained the fame he so coveted, and he did so in an entirely different field, as a poet and illustrator.

This side of Busch dates back to the drawings he made in the margins of his maths exercise books in Hanover. It was later to mean fame and fortune in Munich.

The characters who made his fame and fortune are a motley crew: Max and Moritz, Hans Hucklebein, Fromme Helene, Balduin Bähmann, Fipps the Monkey, Maler Klecksel, Plisch and Plumm.

As children we laughed at the predicaments they got into and the dreadful ends so many of them came to. Poor Helene met her death through Demon Drink, while Max and Moritz, juvenile delinquents if ever there were any, likewise had only themselves to blame for their sad demise.

They fell into the miller's flour through and were ground fine and fed to his hens. A gruesome but fitting end of the kind children appreciate and understand.

Busch served his apprenticeship as an illustrator and versifier working as a cartoonist for a Munich magazine, *Fliegende Blätter*.

It was in Munich that he learnt the art of lampooning our bad habits and making us all, in one way or another, figures of fun.

He painted himself for posterity as a most artistic figure: with a long beard, a dark cape and a floppy hat. But above

all he was an unfailing observer of human failings.

He describes not just what in German is called *die Tücke des Objekts*, or the vagaries of the object, but also the shortcomings of the subject.

Without a trace of sentimentality he observes and describes what goes on around him. His cautionary tales are a combination of cheerful sadism, appeals to morality and *Schadenfreude*, or delight at the discomfort of others.

But the forefinger Busch wags at his characters has an uncanny habit of rebounding. It somehow seems to wag at us all.

After years in Munich and Frankfurt he retired to his village near Hanover, where he was dubbed the hermit or sage of Wiedensahl, but Busch did not take such tags seriously.

What he took seriously was his role as an observer, an onlooker at life, and it was a role to which he remained true. He viewed both people and events with an air of detachment.

Appearances, he wrote in the opening paragraph of his autobiography, are deceptive. They are not what they seem to be, and nowhere more so than among people.

He poked fun most pointedly at the self-important petty bourgeois of his day in tales such as *Abenteuer eines Junggesellen*, 1975, *Herr und Frau Knapp*, 1876, and *Julchen*, 1877.

Life might have its pitfalls but he uncannily succeeded in telling comical tales that to this day make us laugh. He was a humorist, a satirist, a poet, a penman and, in his later years, a good and hard-working painter.

Busch was also a lifelong bachelor and, in his way, a dropout. In 1896 he grew sick and tired of filing tax returns

and made over the rights of his bestselling tales to his friend and publisher Bassermann.

He was a heavy smoker, getting through 60 to 80 cigarettes a day and risking nicotine poisoning on more than one occasion.

In Wiedensahl, where he lived with his brother-in-law, Hermann Nöldeke, another clergyman, and then in Mechtschausen in the Harz mountains, where he stayed with his nephew, Otto Nöldeke, yet another clergyman, he became an indefatigable letter-writer.

In his later years he wrote less verse but more letters, immensely readable letters, to friends at all points of the compass.

He was happy to hear from the outside world and occasionally left his village for short ventures into the world at large.

"On your own," he wrote to his old friend, Franz von Lenbach, the Munich painter, "you are not always in the best of company."

He took a dim view of "early funerals," as he called occasions such as the celebrations to mark his 70th birthday, on which congratulations came pouring in. The 1,500 messages included one from Kaiser Wilhelm II.

But he took such disturbances in his stride and never lost his sense of humour. Humour is my meter, he wrote, and a comment on life from his later years makes a fitting epitaph:

*Früher, da ich unerfahren
Und bescheiden war als heute,
Hatten meine höchste Achtung
Andre Leute.
Später traf ich auf der Wiege
Ausser mir noch mehr re Kälber
Und nun schütz ich, sozusagen,
Erst mich selber.*

(When I was inexperienced and more modest than I am today I used to hold others in high esteem. Then I met other fools beside myself and now I value myself more highly.)

Wilhelm Busch may be seen by some as mainly a children's writer, but he was a wise old bird, make no mistake.

Otto Kuhn

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 10 April 1982)

180 years in publishing

proach to religious affairs was favoured, and the outlook widened further after the Second Vatican Council.

The aim was then to find common ground with other world religions. Ludwig Muth, manager of the paperback division, has said the primal experience of the divine was what Herder had in mind.

This was an experience all faiths shared. Individual doctrinal aspects were seen as less important. Mahatma Gandhi's autobiography was the kind of book the publishers had in mind.

Herder set greater store by the meditative book than any other. German paperback publishers. The inner path is seen as a deliberate counterweight, to the Christianity of action.

Over the years *Lebenshilfe*, or counselling on life's practical problems, has emerged as a mainstay of the Herder range. Christa Meyers, decidedly Protestant, began to write for a publisher with a Roman Catholic image.

Her 1971 Herder paperback *Manipulation* (*Manipulation*)

cess) was her first bestseller. She has now run to 1.5 million sales in the Herder imprint. One Herder paperback in 13 sold is written by her.

At the end of the 60s and for well into the 70s established publishers, such as Fischer in Frankfurt, sought to capitalise on left-wing trends.

At about the same time Herder began to outline sensible right-wing viewpoints, while Gerd-Klaus Kaltenbrunner began editing *Initiative*, a two-monthly magazine published under the Herder paperback imprint.

This year the magazine's 50th issue is due to appear: a second jubilee, as it were. Kaltenbrunner has not opted for an easy way out, and his magazine is still a risk venture.

But it has survived with its head held high, whereas Fischer, for instance, have abandoned two left-wing counterparts. Bids to capitalise on a left-wing market have proved a failure.

Herder do not as a rule go in for speculative projects. That may mean no flops, but since 1970 the series has steered clear of fiction, which is a great pity.

Times were hard, it is true, and Herder were in no position to pay much for paperback rights. But more could have been done, and maybe it is not too late.

Paul F. Reitz

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt 9 April 1982)

Herder, the Stuttgart publishers, have been in publishing since 1802. They have been in paperback since 1957: for 25 years.

Herder were seventh in the ranks of what are now 50 paperback publishers in the Federal Republic of Germany. Ernst Rowohlt launched the first in Hamburg in 1949.

Herder have given sterling service over the past 25 years, publishing 1,000 titles in paperback with a combined print run of 20 million.

Sooner than others, Herder began to commission books specially for publication in paperback. They now account for about 90 per cent of titles.

The range naturally bears the hallmarks of a publishing house that has been in the book trade for 180 years. Herder have always been Roman Catholic publishers, and that can be a heavy burden for a paperback range.

But Herder paperbacks have gained an image of their own.

One Herder paperback reader in two does not feel any strong ties with the Church: neither the Catholic nor the Protestant Church. But paperbacks reach places the pulpit does not.

In its early days the Herder range was aimed at rejoining the international mainstream after the intellectual bonfire of the Third Reich.

From the start an ecumenical ap-

It may be true that his uncle was the man on whom Busch modelled the many pious clergymen that occur in his tales, but he always had a soft spot for this particular uncle.

He recalls in his repeatedly revised small autobiography, *Von mir über mich* (By Me About Me), that Uncle Georg, the mildest of men, once gave him a good hiding.

He was punished for giving the village idiot cowhair to smoke in his pipe and does not seem to have borne his uncle the slightest grudge for this solitary bout of corporal punishment.

When, at the age of 15, he had to leave his uncle's home he resented the move and held it against his father, who had decided to send him to Hanover Polytechnic and was determined to make a mechanic out of him.

He never did become a mechanic, but he was not destined to be the great painter he dreamed of becoming either.

■ RELIGIOUS AFFAIRS

Catholic church storm brews over decoded allegations about priests, lay teachers

An ecclesiastical dispute has developed over religious teaching in schools.

It involves allegations of deserts of infidelity, wrong religious instruction, and charges that priests and lay teachers are not following the (Catholic) church's creed.

The dispute dates back to 1977 when teachers in secondary schools (*Gymnasien*) in the Trier diocese were asked how much they knew about themselves.

Assessor of the survey was Bernhard Schach. Unfortunately the full impact of his findings did not become evident when they were published, apparently because he hid the meaning in esoteric jargon.

For example, he said that "the dynamism and reinterpretation of the normative structure of religious instruction reduce the possibilities of the official church to influence the role-interpretation of teachers of religion and create inroads for dysfunctional lapses of role-interpretation along with identification deficits."

But, Cologne Professor Albert Mock exposed the enormity of the findings by reviewing a book by Schach, *Der Religionslehrer im Rollenkonflikt*, in more readable language.

Professor Mock wrote in the magazine *Katholische Bildung*, that it is justified to say that 40 and 70 per cent respectively of the interviewed priests and lay teachers are no longer rooted in the church's creed.

Then Regensburg Bishop Rudolf Graber (in connection with the bestowal of an ecclesiastical teaching authority — *missio canonica*) pointed to the findings and warned of a loss of religious tenets.

He said that the task of a teacher of religion was not only to inform and discuss but also to bear personal witness through his life and conduct.

The association of teachers of religion in the Munich Archbishopric considered this reason enough to write a letter to Regensburg that can best be summed up as a curious blend of consternation and "long-suffering tolerance".

The letter stated that this country had no "deserts of infidelity and no oases of fidelity," unless Bishop Graber wanted to depict Trier as "an example of a successful undermining strategy."

Be this as it may, the letter went on; the bishop's words were weighty and "demanded religious instruction... causing harm to the church."

Letter writer Wolfgang Rückl and his Grafing colleague Adalbert Mischlewski are practitioners and know what it means to face a class and "impart religion" when one section of the children no longer know what to make of a depiction of Mary in biblical attire except to ask what party this character is dressed up for.

The other section of the children has been so indoctrinated by grandmother's stories of heaven and hell as to put the teacher totally at a loss as to how to present his own material.

Indifference or excessive zeal on the part of the parents are, however, problems that plague teachers in other fields as well. But what makes the instruction of religion more difficult than any other subject is the interest that

such bodies as councils of Catholics or parents' associations show in the matter.

Generally, the teachers consider this interference by lay people and experience it as an anonymous pressure. Ponder Mischlewski and Rückl: "Essentially, we reap the fruits of the wrong religious upbringing of the past."

School, "by its very nature a supplement and help for family and church," should, according to the *Divina Illius Magistri* (Pius XI), together with family and Church, form one single sanctity, "if it is not to miss its objective and turn into the very opposite: a work of destruction."

Constitutional commentators who reject the mere imparting of knowledge also stress the missionary intention of religious instruction.

This type of instruction, they say, "must be bound by religious profession and dogma inasmuch as religious beliefs and the dogmas as a whole are presented as being of absolute validity."

In 1979 still, Augsburg Bishop Manfred Müller, school expert of the Bavarian bishops, termed it "the most important aim of religious instruction to make the children at home in their religion," and called on teachers of religion to be "wise advocates of the church."

But this very role was rejected by many critics at school. They considered religious instruction compromised by the form of presentation.

In fact, a study spoke of an "ideological rape of the child"; and the 1974 FDP Church Paper was considered by many conservatives as the beginning of a new tribulation of persecution.

In 1968, the reformer Hubertus Haefliger saw only two possibilities: Missionary religious instruction would withdraw for lack of pupils or it would have to attempt to remain a regular school

subject by orientating itself by the self-understanding of today's schools.

This was the position in 1974 when the Common Synod of German Bishops released a text with some conflicting interpretations: While one group (in the resolution "Religious Instruction at School") saw the 'capitulation' to the world and the powers of darkness as a fait accompli, the other praised the fortuitous blend of humility and realism.

The Synod paper conceded to teachers of religion that love of the church and critical detachment need not preclude each other.

The paper was in fact so modest as to consider it a gain for religious instruction to achieve mere tolerance and a positive attitude towards the phenomena of religion and faith.

If these virtues and this knowledge were to lead to a concrete commitment to the church, that much the better.

But to expect miracles of faith would be tantamount to misunderstanding the conditions and the aims of religion as a subject at school.

Bernard Schach is unsparing in his evaluating remarks on such a detached post-conciliar view of things.

He leaves it open whether such genuflection is compatible "with the tradition-bound self-understanding of the church."

He sees the church as succumbing to the temptation to "counter the change in peripheral social conditions of Christian education by relativising the church's level of demands."

Though Schach understands the "flight of catechists from the Gospel to information," he leaves it open whether this is "permissible in terms of the self-understanding of the Catholic Church."

This puts him on the same line as the Central Committee of German Catholics which, in November 1980, an-

nounced that the mission to convey the beliefs of the church must not be sacrificed to any trends of the time.

This coincidence of views is interesting inasmuch as Schach is by and large a follower of the group around Leifer.

Gräfelting teacher Johannes Glitzner has said that he regards religious instruction an instrument with which to breed manipulable citizens and that he no longer wants to be a "teaching aid of the church."

As a result, he has handed in his *missio* and published a book to the effect that religious instruction must not become an "instrument for securing blood for the church" and that in such instruction the church is an object rather than a subject.

His "critical remarks" are sharp and frequently excessively polemicising. In the interest of a clear separation between Church and State, Glitzner is working towards making the church strip itself of certain privileges in accordance with its own pastoral constitution *Gaudium et Spes* in order to preserve the "truthfulness of its testimony."

John Paul II proved with his Apostolic Letter of October 1979 *Catechesi Tradendae* that such progressive ideas are not yet part of the official church.

Despite its balance, the text leaves no doubt on matters of principle: "When speaking of the pedagogy of faith, what matters is not to convey human knowledge... but the unabridged co-tenancy of the Revelation of God."

The Advisory Council of the Bishops' Commission "School and Education" has made a point of establishing a context between the high demands and actual possibilities of religious education at school.

The modesty of this document goes even beyond that of the Synod paper inasmuch as it requests Catholics not to adopt an "all or nothing attitude."

This is the sort of mild approach that helps the teacher of religion to bear the burdensome feeling that the pressure from without has been replaced by pressure from within.

Hermann Unterstätter.
(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 1 April 1982)

He was welcome and sought after everywhere; and nobody could understand why he wanted to return to Germany once the six months were over.

Remembers Kommeran: "They all asked me when I would come back."

The success in Zaïre made him think. Even during his training as a garage mechanic and during his stint in the Bundeswehr he had asked himself whether a normal run-of-the-mill life in Germany was what he wanted.

The die was cast during the months he spent in Africa.

In 1974, he left Germany again and returned to Zaïre after a gruelling 80-day trip. And again he came with three vehicles that he had carefully prepared for the crossing of the Sahara desert.

In 1978, he founded a company that he named *Die gute Nachricht für Afrika* or "good news for Africa."

The objective was to provide mission stations and parishes with a technical and logistic component.

He went back and forth to his hometown in Germany, Haiger, where he and his friends bought up lorries headed for the junk heap and put them back into working order. The vehicles were then driven to his new headquarters in Kasa-

Continued on page 15

■ MODERN LIVING

Frightful cheek of the five bigheads who claimed friendliest face title

Bonn's daily paper *General-Anzeiger* has run a competition to find the friendliest people in the city.

They and a friend each are to be invited to attend the Chancellor's garden party on 25 June.

But, a sad reflection on our life and times, the newspaper felt obliged to add the rider customary in competitions: "The right of legal appeal is ruled out."

The competition was held in February. The 15 friendliest people from Bonn and environs were to be nominated. Would readers care to write in with suggestions?

About 250 did. It was not exactly an overwhelming response. But Loki Schmidt, the Chancellor's wife, was delighted:

"Just imagine people sitting down to

pen a letter or postcard. That is wonderful nowadays."

Five people nominated themselves, against the spirit of the competition, and were not considered.

Women headed the list. More than a dozen were nominated. "He is always cheerful and satisfied and has friendly words with everyone," "He whistles and sings his job. Everyone likes him."

Most letters were written by elderly people. For them the postman could well be the nicest thing that happens to them on many days of the week.

One touching letter nominated a satellite: "She works in the shop in our old folk's home. The old people buy their cheese and cut meat from her."

"They only need small quantities and are often undecided. She always takes time over everyone. No-one gets on her nerves."

"In her friendly, heartfelt manner she handles every little request." You might feel this is a matter of course. The lady who wrote this particular letter doesn't. Klaus, a 12-year-old schoolboy, nominated the caretaker of his apartment block, a man who kept peace, quiet and cleanliness in a high-rise block in a most unusual way:

"He never swears at us children. He has planted an extra hedge by the playground to make it safer for children and to keep cars out. What really was marvellous was when my mother threw my favourite toy into the garbage incinerator by mistake. Our caretaker went to the trouble of emptying the garbage container on to the floor of the cellar to find it for me."

Another man comes in for praise for the way in which he treats children. He does not deal with them in the way to which they are accustomed from adults:

"He is a wonderful man. He has an orchard full of apple trees but never gets mad with children when he catches them climbing up the trees to steal apples."

"All he says is: 'Eat as many as you like but don't leave any left-overs!'"

Lars, to judge by his spidery handwriting, is a boy of about eight: "I am writing you a letter about the Chancellor's party and the friendly people you want to go to it."

"I know my mum well, so I can write about her. She is friendly to everyone, and fun. I always mow our neighbours' lawn with her. They are very old and sick."

"My mum is always sending parcels to Poland, and that was why we couldn't afford to buy any fireworks for Mardi Gras. She bought tinned food for Poland instead."

"The children next door have no mum and sometimes spend the weekend with us, the dog too, so their dad can have a little time for himself."

One woman who wrote in has a handicapped child: "I go out with the boy every afternoon, and one day a woman spoke to me."

"She said she knew me to look at and asked whether it would be any help if she could look after him one afternoon a week. She has two children of her own."

Most letters were written by old folk. "There I was at the bus stop in the bitter cold. Suddenly a car drew up and a young man offered me a lift home."

"Our Post Office counter clerk is quiet, friendly and kind to everyone even when the post office is full. He is always happy to give a word of advice or lend a helping hand, to young ladies, old men or foreigners regardless."

To judge by competition entries there must be some friendly civil servants behind official desks too:

"The lady I should like to nominate works at the local registry office. She knows her job. She is unburgeonated: She is heartfelt in her friendliness and her readiness to lend a helping hand is really refreshing. She always addresses you by your name." A ticket clerk for the railways also seems to be a most unusual person:

"He once took my suitcase on to the train for me and has been known to stop an intercity train because a swan was walking along the track."

"Last winter, when it was so very

cold, he not only sold tickets but also served freezing travellers a cup of steaming hot coffee."

The couple who run a corner shop are lovingly described on four handwritten pages: "The shop is often full to overflowing, yet everyone is cheerful and relaxed because they are behind the counter. For years the shop has been a village meeting place. Women regularly met at the village shop and discuss their problems. Many a friendship has been made there."

A friendly pharmacist was nominated for the time he took to help with every little ache and pain. A shoemaker was nominated because he always has a word of encouragement.

A children's doctor was recommended because he even came to visit patients at Christmas and weekend and was extremely modest in the bills he charged.

Even a night-club owner was nominated as a guest to be invited to the Chancellor's garden party "because he creates an atmosphere in which I manage to get away from it all, an atmosphere of human kindness, which is so uncommon these days."

Only five entries were from people who nominated themselves, which was not the idea. So the choice was far from easy, and Frau Schmidt decided off-the-cuff to invite 25, not 15 couples selected



New waiter in dining car

It's strange who you meet travelling by train. Passengers travelling between Stuttgart and Bonn recently were confronted with a familiar face in the dining car... yes, the waiter was none other than Bonn Transport Minister Herr Volker Hauff, took to help with every little ache and pain. A shoemaker was nominated because he always has a word of encouragement.

(Photo: Sven Simon)

In this way. It was made by her, Hans Daniels, the burgomaster of Bonn, and Tom Jakob, chairman of the Bonn carnival committee.

They agreed to rule out people whose job is to be helpful and friendly, such as health visitors and nurses, social workers and kindergarten teachers.

On 25 June 30 Bonn people chosen for friendliness will be among the 7,000 invited guests at the Chancellor's garden party in the grounds of Palais Schaumburg.

For many it may be the first and only time they will ever walk round the grounds, beneath the stately trees. But "the right of appeal is ruled out."

Ute Naumann
(Die Zeit, 9 April 1982)

To Africa, with a mechanical skill and a missionary zeal

The taxi suddenly turned off the road and rumbled along a rutted track towards a line of hills.

The surrounding hilly countryside was dotted out and had acquired the colour of a lion's coat. There were patches where the grass had been burned away.

On top of one of the hills, around a bend in the track, appeared the contours of some buildings: the Diguna mission station.

The driver was anxious to leave, saying: "I don't like it here; there are always lions around."

It puzzled me that he should be afraid since he was safe in his car; but he must have had his reasons.

The mission station on the edge of the game reserve some 20 kilometres from Nairobi was still incomplete.

At the time of our visit this spring, there were some 30 men at work around the station. They were busy drilling wells, building a mess and dressing stones. Some of the men were patching up two lorries.

A few of the living quarters, a workshop and a storeroom plus some out-buildings had been completed in the past three years.

The whole thing was the work of a young garage mechanic. Some ten years ago, when he was 22, he and some friends had taken three four-wheel-drive vehicles that they had bought from the Bundeswehr right across Africa. In Zaïre, they settled with the missionary Vic Paul.

Paul had plenty of use for the man who could patch up any kind of car and seemed to have an inexhaustible zest for work.

Horst Kommeran is one of those people who find it impossible to be idle, and he has a knack for doing everything right.

In 1972 he put the six months he wanted to spend in Africa to good use, driving the local preachers from village to village, repairing water pumps and generators and getting broken-down vehicles back on the road.

Continued from page 14

nya where he transported goods for various church organisations.

His freight consisted of food, medicine, construction materials, spare parts and all sorts of machinery. His trucks piled between Central Africa, Zaïre, Uganda, Rwanda, the Sudan and, of course, throughout Kenya.

Kommeran: "all sorts of organisations and mission societies ask for our services and we're welcome wherever we go."

But his main task is still to spread the Word in villages scattered in the bush and his vehicles are equipped with loudspeakers and he always carries films and projectors with him.

The car park now consists of 30 vehicles and is used by 150 preachers of a wide range of mission societies.

He has named his project "Mobile Gospel".

Kommeran frequently spends weeks driving through the wilderness, where a compass is his only guide. Spreading the Word is not enough for him; so he installs and repairs pumps and vehicles, builds toilets and shows how to plant a vegetable garden.

Frequently, they ask him for medicine; but, as he puts it, "what good is it to

give people who have no toilets deworming medicine?"

"What we do is to build their toilets and show them how to keep them working. Then, three months later, we return to see what has become of them and only then do we give them the deworming medicine."

His down-to-earth commonsense has so far enabled him to cope with all vicissitudes. The only country he intensely dislikes is Uganda.

"Once you've been robbed 20 times in a row and, to cap it all, put inside for two weeks, you can't help getting sour."

There are always some 20 to 30 people working at the Diguna mission station. Most of them are Kenyans with a sprinkling of Ugandans and some Europeans.

The young men and women from Germany and Britain sign up for two years, and the pay is hardly more than pocket money.

Yet Kommeran has no trouble recruiting.

"We can have as many people as we like and that means that we can be selective. We get along best with people who opt out of their professions or who have already been successful in some venture," says Kommeran.

Before new staff members leave for

Africa they serve a probation period in Haiger, where old vehicles are still reconditioned.

The choosiness has paid off: the blend of competence, voluntary service and the knowledge of doing something meaningful accounts for the success of Diguna.

"We are extremely efficient, and it took us only two years to amass all these trucks and establish yet another warehouse in Zaïre," says Kommeran.

It is probably due to this efficiency that the promoters continue sending money and making it all possible.

Despite all the risks he has been taking, Kommeran knows how to figure the odds.

Towards the end of our talk, as night descended over the bush and the dogs started barking, we saw the glimmer of a pair of eyes watching us.

Kommeran threw a stone in the general direction of the eyes and suggested that we go inside, saying: "I don't know what was out there, but there are always lions straying out of the game reserve."

After a while, he added pensively: "We'll still have to put up a fence round the mission."

Hans-Anton Papendieck
(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 8 April 1982)